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"INVENTORY OF COLD WAR WEAPONS" --PSB, PANEL B, Group I

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Production of an inventory of those resources at the disposal of the US Government in its psychological effort requires, at the start, an attempt to define terms and clearly establish intentions and limits. This is especially necessary in view of the scope of its concerns, and the varying views of its missions and methods.

In this approach the term "weapon" has been avoided, because while it has a precise definition and use in military contexts, in the present context it is a metaphor which is not always accurate, and which may suggest both forms of power and ways of applying it which mislead or confuse. So too the term "cold war." Although these terms are picturesque and often convenient, they are more effective in dramatizing than in defining the means and nature of psychological operations. They lead to a vocabulary which cannot be used with enough precision, and they accept too literally an underlying analogy which is not really the frame of reference within which psychological operations are conducted.

It is assumed here that we are concerned with the instruments for affecting in our favor the minds and attitudes of foreign peoples--as individuals, groups, or governments, as the case may be. The total impact of the US on the minds and attitudes of peoples abroad is complex, continuous, and massive. Obviously, this inventory cannot seek to identify or catalogue the immense range of ways in which the US influences the attitudes and actions of foreigners. It can, however, provide those who plan and conduct psychological operations with a broader view of the instruments at their disposal.

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In listing these instruments, two considerations create constant and self-evident difficulty. One is the fact that almost no aspect of American life or activity of the US Government either is devoid of psychological significance for foreign audiences, or is incapable of being made to have psychological significance for them in particular instances. The other is: the fact that the nature and the desirability of psychological responses abroad to an aspect of the US may vary very greatly—in terms of individuals, groups, or situations. In other words, anything may be made a "weapon;" its "target" depends on the given situation. Hence it becomes necessary to impose further practical and common-sense restrictions on the scope and categories of this inventory.

For example, our national instruments for the exercise of direct force, direct negotiation, or direct economic manipulation and control are governed primarily by their own necessities and functions. But all three forms of action are intimately related to the use and success of psychological means, and much psychological leverage depends upon or is a by-product of their existence and calculated application. While they are not of course psychological instruments, the means for controlling and exploiting their psychological effects are.

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It will be necessary to preserve the distinction between such sources of psychological effects, and the instruments for manipulating those effects. Otherwise we foster the fallacies that the US psychological effort is defined in terms of all the ways in which the US seeks its international objectives short of all-out war, and that psychological strategy determines, rather than supports, the totality of US policies and actions. While those elements responsible within each US agency for dealing with the psychological implications of its activity can be considered instruments for the purpose of this inventory, it would be misleading and self-defeating to attempt to include all the agencies whose activities involve psychological effects.

Similarly US atomic capacity is clearly a major component in the shaping of psychological responses to the US. But that fact does not mean that psychological considerations can play a determining role in US atomic energy policies, any more than they can determine policies regarding the development of US military forces. Due consideration of psychological implications can be introduced into the formulation of those policies, and the psychological implications of atomic energy, or military force, can be exploited. It is the means for creating, transmitting, and directing desirable impressions about these aspects of the US which are the psychological instruments at our disposal, rather than the aspects themselves.

A further example: the US standard of living is a major and constant conditioning factor in the minds of peoples abroad. It cannot be in any

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important degree concealed, or raised or lowered in accordance with our purposes. The question of the degree of emphasis it should receive, by whatever means at our disposal, is a matter for policy determination in terms of specified objectives in particular situations. Presumably, given a decision either to maximize or to minimize the material rewards of a free society, the resources enumerated in this inventory could be selectively mobilized for that task. Previously, certain of them would have been utilized to inform and guide the decision. In short, however, the US standard of living is a fact or a concept, not an instrument. It can be exploited but not manipulated; it is therefore excluded from this list.

There is a strong temptation to organize such an inventory about ideas. It is true that "in the struggle for men's minds, ideas are weapons"-- psychological efforts are indeed to a large extent devoted to implanting ideas, disseminating ideas, changing ideas, charging them with emotion or directing them to particular actions. This could, however, bring into the inventory the whole content-matter of psychological warfare. It would require listing details down to individual words with their differing connotations for different target audiences. In short, the content of ideas is meaningful only in terms of a specific program for a specific purpose or target. The selection and grouping of the ideational contents of psychological warfare is essentially a function of policy formulation or programming, and cannot usefully be included in an inventory of resources or instruments.

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This inventory cannot be approached as an attempt to present a balance sheet of our psychological assets or advantages and our liabilities or handicaps. This too would involve an attempt to evaluate the whole range of US political, economic, military, and social policies, positions, programs, and institutions, in terms of their positive and negative effects abroad. Such a study or listing, desirable as it may be, would require both a kind of information and a set of agreed criteria radically different from those used in this approach.

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Finally, it is necessary to exclude from this inventory those items which are essentially techniques or devices, the basic craft of psychological operations. It would be superfluous to inform ourselves of the existence of such broad techniques as "persuasion" or "intimidation," or to attempt the enumeration of such subsidiary operational devices as controlled leaks, the creation of symbols or slogans, or the organization of public ceremonies. While a study of operational techniques and devices which analysed their special applicability and limitations for particular purposes and targets might be very useful, a mere listing of techniques in this inventory does not seem fruitful.

While the foregoing approach may seem rigidly to narrow the scope of the inventory, it seems essential to deal only with those resources which are clearly instruments of direct concern to and at the disposal of our psychological effort. In this way we avoid the fallacy of identifying the psychological effort with the totality of our national impact and national resources.

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inventory instruments
A survey of resources for the implementation of psychological warfare
will fall into
~~involves consideration of~~ two broad categories:

- A. *Instruments useful for*
~~Resources for potential mobilization in the~~ planning and programming
of PW operations. These *instruments* ~~resources~~ include persons and organizations
with a store of accumulated knowledge and experience directly related
to various facets of PW (such as first hand knowledge of social and
cultural factors in certain geographic areas, or knowledge and ex-
perience in the application of socio-psychological methods in inter-
cultural situations).

- B. *Instruments*
~~Resources for potential utilization in the~~ transmission of that *PW*
materials
~~"ammunition". (The ideas expressed in words and deeds spread~~
~~according to established overall PW strategy and devised local~~
~~tactics.)~~ These *instruments* are the organizations, programs, persons who be-
come the carriers and disseminators of PW.

A. *Instruments*
Resources for Planning and Programming

1. Official resources with explicit responsibility for PW include the
P area within the Department of State and specialized elements in
the Department of Defense and in CIA.
2. Within the Department of State and other Government Agencies there
are persons with certain skills and experience in contacts with
people in foreign countries who could be coopted for consultation
as the need arises. Examples are:

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- a. Members of the Bureau and Offices concerned with UN affairs who have knowledge and experience with problems in communication and persuasion on international governmental levels within UN organizations
 - b. Regional specialists in R with knowledge of foreign peoples and their cultures
 - c. Personnel of ECA and TCA intimately concerned with the implementation of Technical Assistance Programs in the field as well as with the problems of public relations in the field
 - d. Psychological warfare divisions of ^{The Navy} Army and Air Forces
 - e. Research organizations connected with the Department of Defense, such as Operations Research Office and Human Resources Research Office of the Army; RAND and Human Resources Research Institute of the Air Force; and Office of Naval Research of Navy.
 - f. The Research and Development Board. (At present, PW research is under the jurisdiction of the Panel on Human Relations and Morale, but the PW will be shifted to an ad hoc committee about November 15.)
3. Outside Government there are specialists at Universities and in Research Organizations whose services could be coopted as the need arises. A roster of such specialized personnel would be of great value to PSB. Similarly there are representatives in the US communications industry with special skills regarding communications in the other countries.
4. Research Organizations, such as, Institutes and national Learned Societies as well as Public Opinion polling organizations that offer specialized resources in both, regional and relevant methodological fields, and in individual specialists. Examples are:
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| Columbia University: | Russian Institute and Project for Study of Contemporary Cultures |
| Harvard University: | Russian Research Center |
| Stanford University: | Hoover Library |
| Cornell University: | Southeast Asia Area Program |

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University of Washington: Far East and Russian Institute etc.
International Public Opinion Research
Research Services Ltd., London
American Institute for Public Opinion, etc.

5. American Foundations which support both research on and operating programs in foreign countries. Examples are:

Ford Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation
Carnegie Corporation
Belgian American Educational Foundation
Institute of International Education
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Woodrow Wilson Foundation
The American-Scandinavian Foundation
American Foundation for Overseas Blind
Norman Wait Hains Memorial Foundation
Tolstoy Foundation.

The External Research Staff, Department of State serves as a central point of contact with the Foundations for the Department.

6. Research Divisions of American business houses with foreign operations. For example, such organizations as Standard Oil do a considerable amount of research on areas in which they have plants and/or sales organizations. The Departments of Commerce, Agriculture and the Treasury can assist in identifying and tapping these organizations.
7. The External Research Staff, Department of State, carries on a number of functions relating to psychological warfare:
- a. Maintains a record and publishes a bi-monthly catalog of PW research projects being undertaken under contract with government agencies, particularly Army, Navy, State, CIA, and Air.

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- b. Maintains a catalog of research-in-progress in American universities and private research organizations.
- c. Maintains a roster of research organizations capable of PW research.
- d. Serves as a central point of contact with American Foundations and maintains a record of current research supported by them with a bearing on PW.

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Instruments
B. Resources for Transmission and Dissemination (Cops.)
Discussion of Alternative Groupings

1 All channels for the transmission and dissemination of US PW cannot be either enumerated or even exhaustively listed under general categories. Moreover, since PW involved the spread of ideas through words, visual media, oral communications as well as actions on all levels, the possibilities for channelling them are infinitely varied and numerous. It becomes a matter of selection from the viewpoint of greatest potential effectiveness. Obviously the kind of message and the target area or group to which it is directed is decisive in the selection. Similarly decisive are estimates of concomitant repercussions in areas or among groups which are not the primary target but which may be reached by the message through the particular, selected channel.

The categories of various existing channels that are actually being used or could be used potentially (with the possibilities of creating new ones left open) can be formulated from a variety of viewpoints:

First, there are the important differences between channels that PSB can control, potentially cooperative channels, and channels that cannot be controlled.

For instance, all USIE media and US government sponsored PW activities are obviously fully controllable.

The US Congress and its members cannot be controlled for PW purposes but only influenced through agreement and cooperation with different Congressional committees or individual members.

The actions and utterances of American delegates to governmental international bodies are of a fully cooperative nature, but not necessarily so the actions and utterances of non-governmental Americans abroad.

The same distinctions must be made in considering national and international organizations, including US press and radio or UN bodies.

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Third, though a functional grouping under such categories of titles as (a) agriculture, technology, science, arts, religion, education or (b) labor, farmers, youth, women professional groups, etc., or (c) economic, political, social, military PW fronts, etc., may have certain advantages, it may simultaneously endanger flexibility in the planners' thinking. It may be found that for effective PW the non-specialized channels are as important and on occasions perhaps more important than the obvious institutions or personalities already identified with a particular interest.

For instance, it may be more important and effective to channel PW on the subject of education via women's organizations than through institutions devoted to educational activities. Or, it might be as important to channel PW concerned with agrarian reform via youth organizations as through bodies and spokesmen related with ECOSOC, FAO, or our Department of Agriculture.

Functional groupings of channels may therefore be useful mainly for reference, but not necessarily as a guide for operational utilization.

Fourth, since one of the major aspects of PW is the need to create abroad a confidence-inspiring image of the US, with proper stress in some geographic areas of the world on certain features that as yet do not emerge from behind the currently overpowering technological, financial and military traits, a grouping of channels may also be necessary from the viewpoint of their utility in major regions such as Europe, Near East, South and Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and Latin America.

For global purposes, pronouncements of US leading statesmen and public figures for international as well as domestic consumption are of prime importance as are our statements in all major international organizations.

Broad categories of channels for PW which can either be controlled or are potentially cooperative could perhaps be organized as follows:

1. Governmental

a. US Governmental

b. Foreign Governmental (Governments of the Free World)

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2. International governmental organizations (via US delegations)
3. International non-governmental organizations (via US representatives or non-American Free World delegates)
4. Private Organizations directly engaged in PW on an international scale
5. American national organizations active in the US
 - a. with international affiliations
 - b. without international affiliations
6. American institutions abroad (educational, business, missionary, etc.)
7. Foreign nationality groups
 - a. minority groups in the US of groups maintaining close ties with land of origin

Suggested Inventory Outling. Broad categories of channels for PW which can either be controlled or are potentially cooperative could perhaps be organized as follows:

1. Governmental

a. United States Executive and Legislative Branches of Government

- (1) The President of the United States, members of his cabinet and leading members of most of the Departments obviously are prime carriers of ideas with profound significance for PW, *on a global scale.*
- (2) Congressional debates, statements by senators and representatives especially on foreign policy issues, have sometimes global repercussions.

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- (3) Official US diplomatic and special Missions abroad with PW functions include Foreign Service and specialized Attaches, military advisory groups, ECA, NATO representatives, etc., and their public relations and information staffs.
- (4) The Departments of State, Defense and CIA control specialized PW channels.

b. Foreign Governments

(To the extent that foreign governments of the Free World are willing and able to carry out PW favoring the cause of Western democracies, their own resources via their Ministries of Information, Education, etc., can be enriched and serve as effective local carriers.)

2. International Governmental Organizations

The American delegations are the foremost carriers of PW within the international bodies. A useful guide including a functional breakdown is provided in

International Organizations in Which the United States Participates,

State Department Publication No. 3655, February 1950.

Also, the State Department's periodic publication Schedule of Events offers an excellent preview of all international events of importance to US foreign policy and hence PW.

In this category, international official organizations that deal with educational and social welfare problems are of particular significance for PW. Good examples are:

UN Technical Assistance Administration

UN Specialized Agencies: FAO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO

International Refugee Organization

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UN International Children's Emergency Fund

Inter-American Commission on Social Security

Inter-American Commission of Women etc.

3. International Non-Governmental Organizations

American participants as well as friendly foreign participants in international organizations, meetings, congresses, etc., can be effective carriers of PW.

Well organized guides to international organizations with functional breakdowns are found in: Yearbook of International Organizations, 1950 Geneva, Switzerland and International Non-Governmental Organizations by Lyman Cronwell White, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1951. See also: List of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Relationship with the Economic and Social Council (E/C.21NF/1, 9 November 1950.)

A survey of special interest organizations can easily be made on the basis of above publications. In addition there are specific lists as, for instance the WAY Directory of Youth Movements (Bruxelles 1951) listing all international as well as national youth movements.

4. Non-Governmental Organizations Engaged in PW

Radio Free Europe is a good example of an effective carrier in this category as are anti-Communist publications appearing in various countries.

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5. American National Organizations

See: Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the United States and Canada, Washington D.C. 1948.

Under this category might be included American organizations whose activities are international in scope such as shipping, aviation and communications lines, banking establishments, export-import companies, mining and agricultural large scale enterprises with their own public relations staffs abroad.

All American institutions concerned with the academic or vocational training of foreign students, whether academic, industrial, military or agricultural, are important focal points.

6. American Organizations Abroad

The branches of American companies mentioned under 5 above as well as missionary organizations that maintain schools and hospitals in foreign countries, American colleges and schools abroad, private research centers endowed by American foundations, etc. are all potential channels for PW. Lists of such and similar American establishments abroad must be available from the US Missions and/or the appropriate Government Departments.

7. Foreign Nationality Groups

The utilization of such groups, especially those in the United States, that maintain close contact with their native land, includes their publications such as newspapers and magazines which may find their way to friends and relatives abroad. Similarly minority groups, refugees, defectors and otherwise displaced persons concentrated in some foreign countries are potentially useful PW carriers.

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118. Non-Government Controlled Media at Home and Abroad

The free, private communications industry (radio, press, publications, movies) with their far flung organizational and transmission facilities as well as such entertainment enterprises as theatres, circuses and other popular shows, provide foci of influence that are ^{potentially} capable of supporting PW policies and programs.

9. Selected Persons and Groups at Home and Abroad

Within this category come indigenous leaders on various levels in foreign countries who enjoy public respect and support and are therefore a potent influence in shaping attitudes and opinions; local groups whose activities could be utilized for channeling PW because of their mobility, extensive contacts with other groups or strategic role within a social segment regarded as an important PW target. These may vary from such groups as student clubs to farmers' cooperatives or a writers' association and a dockworkers' union.

Selected American groups or persons may be direct carriers of PW or indirect PW instruments by virtue of their achievements and reputation that could be demonstrated abroad to secure respect, good-will, admiration etc. This applies particularly to fields of arts and sports. Private enterprise in securing mass action can be fostered or facilitated. Active and influential individuals, like the Italian who caused floods of letters to be written to Italy against Communism in the period preceding the 1948 elections, fall into this category.

10. Special Indirect Channels.

An example of such indirect special channels may be public opinion

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polling organizations. While ascertaining prevalent attitudes these organizations through their methods and publication of their findings also importantly influence, favorably or adversely, public attitudes. For example, the phrasing of their questions inevitably has a psychological effect.

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